

The Second and Last
English Advice
TO THE
FREEHOLDERS
OF
ENGLAND.

*Nec wates Helenus, cum multa horrenda
moneret,
Hos mihi prædixit luctus, non dira Celeno.*

L O N D O N:
Printed in the Year M D C C X X I I I.

The Second and Last
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ENGLISH HISTORICAL TRACTS
English Tracts

TO THE
FREEHOLDERS
OF
ENGLAND.

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Printed in the Year MDCCLXXII

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Gentlemen,

YOU have now for Seven Years and more, been in a State of Minority, under the Regency of a foreign Prince and Family; and you have been used, (as commonly Minors are, especially by Step-fathers) one while Scourged, sometimes Cajolled, always Cheated. The Court, assisted by the Lords and Commons, got you into their Hands, and were resolved to make the most of you; which they have accordingly done, to their great Increase of Wealth, and your infinite Loss, if not Ruin. All which was Natural, and to have been expected from such a Court. Neither is there any Thing wonderful in the Conduct of the Two Houses, for which many Things may be said that may deserve your Notice and Consideration.

The House of Lords, it is true, ought to have remembred and emulated the Virtue of their Ancestors, in opposing all Encroachments of the Crown upon

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Liberty of the Subject : They ought to have maintained those Privileges, which the *Barons* purchased at so great Expence of Blood, when they procured for Us the Charter of *Magna Charta*. This they ought to have done, but instead of it, they have shamefully given up some of the most Valuable of those Privileges; and their Excuse for so doing is at Hand. The present Bench of Bishops is chiefly adorned with such *Children of this World*, as know very little, but the Value of Preferments; and who most of them have been advanced by the Court, solely for their eminent want of Merit. No wonder therefor, if they observe great Complaisance to their Benefactors, and more to those, who may give them richer Bishopricks; especially since they are restrained by no Scruples of Conscience, which being very Incommodious, and likewise Unfashionable in this Age, they kindly leave to their Brethren of an inferior Rank.

By the *Union*, the poor unhappy Kingdom of *Scotland* can send but Sixteen Peers to Parliament; who hitherto (one excepted) have been wholly at the Devotion of the Ministers, and kept in regular Pay; which made Mr. Craggs, late

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Secretary of State, a very good Judge of this Affair, complain to the House of Commons, That the *Scotch* Peers have really cost the Crown in Elections and Pensions, as much as their Votes were worth.

Of the Hereditary *English* Peers, about Thirty have been made by his Majesty King *George*, many of them are but Sons of the Earth, and of Yesterday, and therefore may think themselves bound to be Subservient to the Court for all Uses, altho' ever so bad. An equal Number, or thereabouts, have been lifted from lower to higher Forms and Titles, and not fewer modestly speaking, are but the Nominal Descendants of our ancient Nobles, and ought to seek for their Fore-fathers, by the Male or Female Line among the Lees and Dregs of the People. So that if you compute such a Number of *Scotch* Lords, Court Bishops, Thirty new made Peers, together with as many promoted, you may easily account, for the Majority in the House of Lords, almost without including Pensioners, Place-men and the Bards.

From the House of Commons, in Appearance you had Reason to hope for

Justice at least, if not for Favour. They were or ought to have been your own Creatures, tender of your Rights, frugal of your Purfes, your chosen *Guardians*. But unfortunately they were not your Choice. Many of them were unduly returned by Officers made by the Court for this very Purpose. By Petitions of the House of Commons many of them got into it, and turned out those whom you had elected. For, the *Committee of Elections*, of which Mr. Hambden was *Chair-man*, never considered your Votes, but without Regard of the Number of Voices at the Election, decided the Case in Favour of the Man most fit for their Purposes. By which notorious Partiality of him, and his *Committee*, by false Returns, by avowed Bribery, and the whole strain'd Power of the Crown, the last House of Commons, sat to do Mischief; but could no more be called your Representatives, than a Gang of *Highway-men* that should get Possession of *St. Stephen's Chappel*, and be acknowledged by the Court and House of Lords, to be as worthy Gentlemen as themselves.

As to the Court, there have been many Changes in that Region among the great

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great Officers, during these 7 Years last past. Some have been in Favour, and disgraced, and received a Second Time into Favour, and a second Time discarded. But still the Grofs of the Court hath been the same, and their Actions Uniform. At one Time it was *Madamoiselle Schullenberg*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, with *Walpole*, *Townshend* and *Stanhope*: At another, it was the Dutchess of *Munster*, *Walpole* and *Townshend*: At another, it was the Dutchess of *Kendall*, Lord *Sunderland*, *Craggs* and *Stanhope*; then the Dutchess with the Lord *Sunderland*, *Walpole* and *Townshend*; and who will come next, Lord *knows*. Thus though the Flying Parties and Wings varied now and then, the Main, the grofs Corps of the Court continued still the same, and their Conduct was always of the same Nature.

In speaking of the Court I wholly exclude the Duke of *Kent*, Lord de *Larwar*, and such little Insects, who implicitly follow the Dictates of their Leaders; and betray their Country, for a Pension, a Place, or perhaps a Feather; these I exclude for the same Reason that I do the *Footmen* who go behind the State-coaches; or the Ladies, who dangle after a Court they do not want. It is the Duty of the former

former, who wear the Court-livery to attend; and it is a Weakness and grievous Distemper in the latter, that they cannot breath out of the Air of it. I have often pitied some great Dutcheßes of my Acquaintance, when I have seen them straining for a *double Entendre*, or sweating for Compliments to get a Bow from *her Grace*, or perhaps from *Ulerick* or one of the *Turks*. Such Creatures as these are not the Court; but only breed in it, as Mites and Maggots in a rotten Cheefe. But the Court is the governing Party there, by whose Authority, Advice, Insinuations and other perswasive Arts, the *English* Interest hath been sacrificed to *Foreigners*, and the *Publick* given up to the *Lust of Dominion* in *Private Persons*.

Of the Chief of those Managers I have named some. But Count *Berensdorf* and Baron *Bothmar* have had and still retain great Influence, especially in the Management of every Thing that might be for the Advantage of his Majesty's Province in *Germany*. The former of these was Minister to the King's Father-in-Law, and by a most egregious Piece of Treachery recommended himself at *Hannover*, and is by all Accounts of him, a most dangerous Person near the King, being corrupt, covetous and vicious a-

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above Measure. Baron *Bothmar* is too well known to require a particular Description of him. No Man living is more answerable than he, for all the early Impressions made upon his Majesty's Mind against the People of *England*, and for their present Misfortunes. Yet he walks about with Impunity and Impudence, builds a *Seraglio* in *St. James's Park*, and is suffered to take into his Garden a large Part of the Park, which had been, before, but too much mangled and deformed by unreasonable Grants. Besides these two, there are some others of the same Country of less Fame, but who likewise more or less have promoted the pernicious Measures, and Counsels, to which we owe our present Calamity, and our future melancholy Prospect.

Thus, Gentlemen, you see a Prince seduced by *Germans*, and by Ministers intirely *Germanized*, a profligate House of Lords, and a House of Commons, not duly elected, have been the *Three Estates* of the Realm, by whom you have been governed during his Majesty's Reign; and tho' most of you, with the rest of the Nation, must feel the Mischiefs brought upon you, from such a wretched Union and Exercise of Power, yet that no one may have

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Reason to complain of the Unfairness of the foregoing Representation, it may be proper to take a short View of the Conduct of the Court since his Majesty's Accession to the Throne the first of August 1714.

The First Months after the King's Accession, were employed in mutual Congratulations between the Royal Family and the Whigs for the Death of Queen Anne; the poor Archbishop of Canterbury Tennison, who had not been out of his Chamber for some Years, came to Court on this Occasion, and in his heavy Accent cried— *God be thanked for this glorious Day.* Speeches, Libels and Addresses were encouraged and presented, full of venomous Expressions against her Majesty whose Heart was entirely English; against her Ministers, who indeed deserv'd it for having suffered theirs and the Nations Enemies to come into Power, against the Clergy, though the Majority of the Bishops were Whigs to their Wish; and in general against all, who had not the Merit of being known Enemies to the Constitution in Church and State. In the mean While his Majesty treated the late Queen's Friends even at first with apparent Dislike, and no ordinary Marks of Aversion, which became afterward

inflamed by some idle Stories unbecoming a great Prince to hear, much more to relent: And in the Midst of a great Deal of Bile and Rancour uttered against the Majority of his Subjects, Balls and Suppers went round to entertain him, which seem'd the only Sort of Conversation he could taste from so disagreeable and unpolite a People as the *English*.

It cannot be contended, but that King George had the fairest Opportunity imaginable, at his first Arrival here, to have acted an easy, a wise and noble Part; but the Court was not the School of Wisdom, or even Decency. Joy and Malice, both rudely expressed, alternately governed there. The King preserved his Gravity, which some called Sullenness. The Prince cried, *il faut les Ecrasser*, we must crush them to Pieces; and the good Princess, with Jest that might be Wit at *Hanover*, endeavoured to express her Share of Hatred. The late Lord *Wharton* exulted in the Success of the Faction, and used to cry— *In for Life*, by God, *we have got a Family to our Mind*; with several other Reflexions, which the greatest Jacobites, out of pure good Manners, would have avoided. But this is not the only Particular, wherein his Majesty

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hath been scornfully treated by his good Friends, as he thinks them. Even Mr. *Walpole*, the present Favourite and Ruler, when he was turned out some Years ago, ridiculed the King publickly in the Speaker's Chamber, before many Witnesses, and made a silly Conversation for the King, as if he could say nothing but *Bon, Comment and Diable*.

It hath been often said his Majesty and the Royal Family had Reason to be averse from the Tories, who would have defeated the *Protestant Succession*. This had been told the King and he believed it, without one single Proof of the Truth or Probability of the Fact; and so took himself to be highly injured; which led him into all the Methods of Revenge which his Counsellors desired to infuse into him: And which were not only contrary to common Justice, but to all Sort of Policy or common Sense. For, if Things had been weighed with any Temper, Equity or Policy, the King would have endeavoured to reconcile Men to him, by a frank Countenance and gracious Behaviour, rather than, by ill-judged Expressions of Resentment, confirm the mistaken Part of his Subjects in their Prejudices against him.

him. There had been Sense and Magnanimity, if not Inclination, in such Conduct; whereas the Contrary could appear only the Effect of a Littleness of Mind, of Pride, Weakness, or of something worse.

But besides, at his first Entrance thro' the City of *London*, he might have been convinced with his own Eyes and Ears, that it could not be the Fault of his Subjects, if he did not Reign in their Hearts. What have those Men to answer for, who have robbed him and us of that Blessing, and who have contrived to manage so, that according to their own Computation, Nineteen Parts in Twenty of the Nation are in the Interest of his Competitor!

But it is in vain to reason upon that fundamental Error. The Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom were not the Desire of the Court. Some vowed and breathed Vengeance: Others wanted Opportunities to feed their Avarice. The Power of the Crown was exerted with Violence, and stretched beyond all Bounds. I am told my Lord *Marlborough* desired at first only a *Restoration*, that the *Whigs*, who had been in Employment, might be restored to the Places they

they had lost in the Queen's Time upon the Change of the Ministry. But Conquest suited the Views of the *Germans*, and of *Townshend* and *Walpole*; in which his Grace easily acquiesced, as being a Method whereby he might the better find his Account: And this was the best Reason I have heard given, why the King would not meet the Parliament the Queen left; left by such a Meeting there might be a Sort of Acknowledgement of that Power, which had been *Usurped* by the *Queen* from the *Whigs* for the last Years of her Reign; and for which the Court never could forgive her, or any of those who were much in her Favour; nor even the Duke of *Somerset*, because he really was Instrumental in that Change.

Among a Thousand Instances of their Bitterness against her and those who were thought to be in her Interest there were Two, which are the more Remarkable, as being otherwise of no great Consequence. One was, that Colonel *Chudleigh* was advanced to be Governor of *Chelsea-College*, for having Murthered *Mr. Aldworth*, Member of Parliament for *Windsor*, only because he presumed to appear at *St. James's*. I call it Murther: For, tho' it was pretended to be

upon a Duel, yet Mr. *Aldworth* had not the Use of his Arms, and could only stand to be Stabb'd; which *Chudleigh* took the Advantage of; and was therefor looked upon at Court, as a *Champion* fit for their Purpose.

The other Particular was; the Queen left no Will that was signed in Form, but to One, which she was resolved to be perfect, she left a *Postscript* in her own Hand-writing, that 2000 *lib.* should be given to her Lord *Almoner*, for the Relief of the poorer Sort of the poor People; yet her Lord *Almoner*, the late worthy Bishop of *Bristol*, could never get a Shilling of that Sum, altho' he importunately solicited for it. This Sum was such a Trifle, considering how much the Queen left, that was seized for King *George's* Use, that the Refusal of it could not proceed from Parsimony, but rather a Dislike to every Thing which the Queen seemed to desire or Wish. The Indigence indeed of that great craving Multitude, which flocked hither after the King, might be supposed at first to leave no Room for Charities. But besides, that to give is not the Faculty of some Persons, ample Provision was made for those ill favoured, tho' not *Leanflesh'd* Murd'ring another way; a little Fellow, one

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Robbeton, having soon grown very considerable, by being the Channel thro' whom all Bribes were conveyed to the Minions : Therefore I rather impute this Sacrilegious Thrift to the Cause already assigned. I Remember *Mr. Walpole*, speaking of this *Robbeton* once in the House of Commons, said, *He was a little pitiful Fellow not fit for a Gentleman to converse with.* But he hath since changed his Note, and not only thinks him fit for a Gentleman to converse with, but pays very great Court and Homage to him : So differently do Objects appear to *Mr. Walpole* in Favour, to what they did when he happened to be out of Employment.

At the same Time that his Majesty was advised to act in such a partial and unkindly Manner, all Indignities were cast upon the Church. Dissenters of all Sorts countenanced ; professed Deists and Hereticks made the Favourites of *St. James's* ; the Clergy ordered what Doctrines to teach, and Church-Preferments disposed of to Men, who were most noted for their Dislike of her Principles and Discipline, as if it were out of meer Gaiety and Wantonness, nothing was omitted to irritate the People ; in which general Distemperature the Parliament was dissolved, without Thanks or Ceremony,

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by Proclamation on the 11th of January, 1715.

On the 15th of the same Month came out the Proclamation for calling a New Parliament. In this Proclamation the King takes Notice of the Remarkable Steps of Providence to bring him in Safety to the Crown, notwithstanding the Designs of evil Men, who shew'd themselves Disaffective to his Succession, and who, with the utmost Degree of Malice, &c. Observe the Strain of this whole extraordinary Performance; a Mixture of Rancour and Falshood is here uttered by Royal Authority, and given under the King's Hand. Here is a Libel published against much the greater and better Part of the King's Subjects, and published in his Name. The Intent is to involve all, who might not be Subservient to the Court-Schemes in a general Slander; and before any of those accused could be heard, his Majesty gave his Royal Word for it, that they were all Traitors. This is the Sense of the Proclamation, and at that Time I am sure all Men (unless perhaps you may except the King himself) understood it to be so.

But neither is this enough: In order to fix the Calumny of Misapplication of Public Money upon the Queen and her Friends, the

the Proclamation further takes notice, That the King thinks fit, in Justice to himself, to signify to his whole Kingdom, that he was much CONCERNED to find, on his Accession to the Crown, the Public Affairs in the greatest Difficulties, as well in respect of our Trade and the Interruption of our Navigation as of the great Debts, which were very much increased since the Conclusion of the last War. Had this been true, it was wholly out of Form to take notice of it in this Manner. It was moreover exceedingly unjust in his Ministers and that Party, who were the original Contrivers, and constant Encouragers of the Project to mortgage the Funds; and besides, they had the least Reason of all People to mention those Difficulties: For the Difficulties, if such there were, were the Effect of the Obstructions thrown in against the Peace. And those Men, and even his Majesty (as appears by *Bothmer's Memorial*) obstructed it all they could, and gave the Enemy the Advantages he could not possibly have had, but by their Assistance. That they have been told a thousand times over, and know it to be true; and yet have as often returned to the Charge, to blacken the Queen's Administration.

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How much his Majesty was Concerned on this Occasion, I cannot pretend to guess: But if he had Reason then to be Concerned at the Increase of our Debts, he hath Cause sufficient now to weep his Eyes out. The little Finger of his Ministers hath been heavier than the Loins and Carcasses of all their Predecessors. They have not only added Ten Millions more to our Debts, but by their wicked Schemes and Projects, have rendred us far less able than we were, to pay any Share or Participle thereof. Their Predecessors loaded us sufficiently; but they have broke our Backs and Hearts in to the Bargain. Such is the Case of the Public. But who can tell that of the infinite Number of flourishing Families, reduc'd by the present Administration to starve or beg? The many Instances of this kind that we hourly see, may at least prove us to be a People neither revengeful nor bloody, since the Authors of our Miseries are suffered, not only to live, but live in Grandeur and with Power, and enjoy their Plunder in the Face of the many innocent Families they have ruined.

But least the Sense, however plain, of the Proclamation, should not be fully understood, Directions are in it given by the

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King,

King, *what Persons are to be chosen Representatives, viz. Such as shewed a Firmness to the Protestant Succession when 'twas most in DANGER.* And here the Mystery is out; this is the *Freedom of Elections* which was mentioned a little before, as if on purpose to show the Inconsistence with what was to follow. This was such a *Breach* of that *Freedom*, as we have but one Precedent for, since the Reign of *Richard II.* as weak a Prince almost as ever sat upon the Throne. The Usurper *Henry IV.* indeed issued out very extraordinary Directions; and accordingly such a Parliament was chosen, as has ever since been branded with the Title of *Parliamentum Indoctorum*; as our late one may justly claim to that of *The CORRUPT Parliament.*

By this Manner of Dictating to the People whom to Choose; by the whole Strength of the Court and Treasury, together with undue Returns and very foul Play, the Court got what they wanted; a House of Commons, who might properly be said to be above all Scandal, because there's no Reproach bad enough to reach them fully; and that tho' there were Terms to be found equal to their Merit, yet they were such hardened Prostitutes, not to blush at the Names of their Trade

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Trade and Function. They likewise knew, that the less Shame they had, the more acceptable they would be to their Masters.

At the Meeting of the Parliament the Lord Chancellor read, in the King's Name, to both Houses, *a most Gracious Speech*, as it was call'd, which was understood to be the Foundation of their future Proceedings, and such it proved, to the great Damage both of King and Kingdom.

Herein his Majesty begins, according to Custom, with the *Practices to defeat his Succession*. He observes the *Increase of the Public Debts under the late Administration*, the *Neglect of Trade and Manufactures*, and the *FATAL Cessation of Arms*. He desires a Supply for the current Service, and hath these remarkable Words, — *since 'tis my Happiness, as I'm confident you think it yours, to see a Prince of Wales, &c. This must occasion an Expence -- such as surely no Man will GRUDGE!* The Conclusion is, *I doubt not but, with your Assistance, I shall be able to disappoint the Designs of those Men, who would deprive me of that Blessing which I most value, the AFFECTION OF MY PEOPLE.*

These last Words ought indeed to have been written in Letters of Gold, if any

Measures had been pursu'd to make them good. But as yet we find, that as that Particular was only mentioned in the Conclusion, so, in Order of Time, it was judged to be the last Thing fit to be considered of. *Rusticus expectat dum defluet annis; at ille labitur, & labetur in omne volubilis ævum.*

The Demand of Money was to be expected of course, not only for the Public Service, and for the Prince of Wales's Family; but many other Occasions there were for that Call, and all too little, considering these are Blessings of such a Nature, as cannot be too dearly Bought, But the Complaints herein made, and which were the Grounds of the succeeding Impeachments, were very unlikely to beget the King that *Blessing he so much values*, the **AFFECTION OF HIS PEOPLE**. On the contrary, it afforded his Enemies a Pretence to say, that the Speech contain'd but two modest Requests, *viz. English Blood and English Money*; and I am sorry the Event hath given so good Colour to their Interpretation.

It is not my Business to defend the Conduct of the Queen's Ministers, though I believe, all Things considered, they had Faults, but not Crimes; and

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them in Respect of their Successors, they were
 s that Angels. but whether they were guilty or
 Con- not, was it King *George's* Interest to di-
 was turb the Beginning of his Reign, by un-
 con- necessary Enquiries into past Miscarri-
 t am- ages? What could he have desired more?
 volu- Was not he here, safe, at Ease, in Ful-
 ne- ness and sufficiently enabled to enrich
 his Favourites? Where then could be
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Henry the VIII. it is true, in the Be-
 ginning of his Reign, fell upon the In-
 struments employed by his Father, and
 brought them to due Punishment. But
Empson and *Dudley* had been Tax-Ga-
 therers, Oppressors, Plunderers, the
 Tools of his Father's Avarice and In-
 justice, and odious to the Nation; so
 that the Son recommended himself, at
 his first setting out, by sacrificing his
 Father's Ministers to the publick Rage.
 But in the Case before us, the Nature of
 the Thing is altogether different, and
 the Consequences have answered accor-
 dingly. Those Men indeed who have so
 fatally misled his present Majesty, may
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perhaps live to be in *Empson's* and *Dudley's* Circumstances, as necessarily fall and fall as unpitied.

I know it is said by some, that his Majesty is by no Means to be censured for what hath been done amiss; that he was purely passive; that he left those Matters to the Parliament, and thought they knew best what was proper to be done, and that if any Person were to be found Fault with, it was his *Council*. To all this I should be glad to assent, and to vindicate his Majesty as far as any one. But others may urge the Point home and ask, Why did his Majesty lead the Way in the Prosecution? Why Point out the Heads of the following Impeachments? Why countenance only the hottest, and most violent of the Party? You will say, the *English* Ministers advised him to this, Allow it: But this is to make a Compliment to his Intentions, at the Expence of his Understanding. Grant there was all the Reason in the World for his changing the Queens Ministry; admit, the Men he chose seemed to be the great Supporters of the *Hanover* Succession, and that in Gratitude, as well as Prudence, he ought to have made them his Ministers. Yet it is very strange, that they should

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continue in Favour, or lose Ground in Proportion to their Violence; and that as soon as any of them began to slacken in his Fury, that Moment he became less in Esteem; as was the Case of several, particularly, of Lord *Hallifax*, who was first Lord of the *Treasury*, and had as much Merit to the King, as any Man of that side; yet he was to have been turned out, if he had lived; only because he was against the Impeachments. It is true he was guilty of another Crime, for he refused to pass an exorbitant Grant to Lord *Marlborough* of 45000 *l.* which might be some Addition to his other Misdemeanour; but his Lordship's capital Offence was *Moderation*; the *Moderation* of a Man, who had been most forward in all the Violences committed since the Revolution.

In fact it must be confessed, That the whole Royal Family were vehemently bent upon the Impeachments. How they came to be so, is another Question; which signifies not much, whether you impute to their Ignorance of our Laws and Customs, to the natural Inclemency of their Country, to the Prevalency of the Duke of *Marlborough's* Genius and his wife's Haughtiness, to the impatient Temper

Temper of Mr. Stanhope, the Brutality of Townshend, the corrupt Nature of Walpole, the Inhumanity of Cadogan, the Grand-son of a Regicide, or to the general Complexion of an unjust Court and abandoned Party: Let one, or all of these be the true Cause, the Matter is still the same and not to be controverted, For there was nothing at that Time more frequent in the Princess's Mouth, as she has a peculiar Talent at talking decently than to ask in the publick drawing Room *How the Impeachments went on?* and she would frequently complain of the *Slowness of the parliamentary Proceeding in that Business.*

Pursuant to the King's Speech, the Commons fell very briskly upon the Examination of the past Conduct of the Queen's Ministry. For which Purpose they nominated a *Committee of Secrecy*, of whom at that Time thought *Thorough* as Mr. Walpole, Chair-man of the Committee, calls himself; by which he means Men, who will go through with any Work, be it never so wicked. In some of these indeed he found himself mistaken but for the most Part he was in the right and they were fit Tools for that Service which is the worst Thing can be said

them; and indeed they acted their Parts so well to the Satisfaction of the Court, that for that and other Deserts, I think no less than Seven or Eight of them have been since made Lords.

By this Time the Country plainly saw, and abhorred what the Court drove at. They were now confirmed in Opinion that there was no Safety for a Churchman, and unjustly imputed these Violences to the Power of the Dissenters, whose Meeting-houses, they imagined were to Supplant our Churches, or that the Churches might be given to the Kirk here as well as in *Scotland*. Upon which ensued those disorderly Insurrections in *Staffordshire*, and elsewhere that afforded the Court a Handle for their *Bill of Riots*. So that though I do not join in Opinion with those, who think the Court contrived those Ruffles on purpose, yet they were certainly glad of them, as they procured a Pretext for that Bill, and for other Violations of our Liberties. In that there are several Particulars, which strike at the Freedom of the Subject; and among others there is one Clause, that a Man may be prosecuted for a Riot, even a Twelve-month after the Fact pretended to be committed. which, be-

sides that it gives the Crown a dangerous Power, is a terrible Weapon put into the Hands of malicious Knaves, against any Neighbour to whom they have a Spight.

When the *Committee of Secrecy* were ripe with their Report, they got it twice read in the House. It was a Voluminous heavy Charge against many Persons of the first Rank, and therefore it was proposed by the other Side to put off the Consideration of it to a Time limited, and no long one neither, within which Gentlemen might weigh the Mattets therein contain'd. But this was thought by the Court an unreasonable Delay, and it was carried with a high Hand to proceed instantly to the Work; which some *longing* Persons had so much set their Hearts upon, that it might have caused a Miscarriage, and the loss perhaps of a *German Prince*, if the Affair had been suffered to cool.

The Report contained an unaccurate perplexed Accusation of the *Queen*, the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Strafford*, the Lord Viscount *Bullingbroke*, Lord *Harcourt*, *Arthur Moore* and some others. The Queen happily for her self, but to our great Sorrow, was in a better Place than on her Throne. The Duke

Duke of *Ormond* was accused for Obeying her Majesty and bringing home with him an *Olive-Branch* instead of *Lawrels*, which he might have reaped as easily, as his Predecessor in the Command of the Army. But tho' he hath as keen an Appetite for Glory as the other had for Money, yet he preferr'd the good of his Country to his own natural Desires, for which he had the Queen's Thanks and the Approbation of the Kingdom. The Earl of *Oxford* had managed so, to be well with neither Side, yet few or none suspected him guilty of Treason, and all Men allowed he went out of the Treasury with clean Hands, which none of the best of his Successors in that Station can say of themselves; and we may say of some of them that the Nation had been many Millions the richer, and they many thousand Pounds the Poorer, if they had proved just such Traitors as the Earl of *Oxford*. The Earl of *Strafford* had offended the *Dutch* by sustaining the Character of her *Britanick* Majesty's Ambassador, and the Dignity of the *Imperial Crown of England*. The *Dutch* took it ill: For, ever since the *Revolution*, they had been taught to believe, we ought to receive Laws from the *High and Mighty States*: And King

George's Ministers thought it a Crime in my Lord *Strafford* to dispute their Commands. My Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* was supposed, to have been at least as Active as any of the rest in concluding the Peace, against which his Majesty, when Elector, sent a Memorial to the Queen which was presented and printed, in order to raise a Sedition here. His Lordship, it was thought, had early Notice of the Attack intended against him, so wisely provided for his Safety before he was accused; which was the Reason that when he was Impeached, the Struggle was not Great.

The Earl of *Oxford* was next Accused of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours: But his Lordship had that dextrous way of puzzling Men, even in ordinary Affairs, that it was not strange, that there was less Shew of Reason to offer against him to prove him guilty, even in the Court-way of thinking, than against any of the rest. Yet the Torrent carried it: They hated him inveterately, and observed no Rules of Justice. So the Impeachment was voted by a great Majority, and he stood the Shock with remarkable Intrepidity. I was present in the House of Lords when he was

car-

ime in Carried to the *Tower*. He was then in a
Com- ad State of Health, which was increa-
ngbroke d by his attending that very long De-
asAc- ate, at the latter End of which he made
ng the short, but Pathetic Speech: And I know
when ot which moved me most, whether, Con-
Queen ern at seeing an *English* Nobleman fall a
in or- sacrifice to the Rage of *Foreigners*, or In-
Lord- igation to behold the *Heir apparent* to
Notice he Crown affect to come near his Lord-
im, so ship, stare and laugh him in the Face,
ore he whilst he was speaking in Defence of his
on that *deceas'd Sovereign*, and defending his own
le was Life, and the Liberties of the Peers of
England.

ccused The Earl of *Strafford* was only accused
Crimes of High Crimes and Misdemeanours,
ordship which not taking away his Right to Sit
g Men, in the House, did him this Service, that
as not it sufficiently shewed he was in no Degree
f Rea- of Favour with the Managers; But that
e him if they had known how to have vented
think- their Spight to Purpose against him, they
et the would have done it otherwise than in im-
im in- potent Harangues, which they were full
of Ju- of, and which he heartily contemned.

ted by Lord *Harcourt* and Mr. *Arthur Moore*
Shock were threatned; but paid only their Fears
s pre- as a Fine for their Faults. Since which
e was Time sufficient *Atonement* hath been
car- made

made by them, and they are not only admitted into an *Act of Grace*, but otherwise thought proper Candidates for Favour.

As to the Duke of *Ormond*; he never affected any Character but that of an Honest, Steady Lover of his Country: To which he had a kind of *Hereditary Right*, his Father and Grandfather having eminently signalized themselves that Way. This, together with a natural Candour and Affability, join'd to perfect good Manners, the most generous Temper, humane Disposition, and a clear Courage, made him generally beloved by the People of *England*; as some of the contrary Qualities had unluckily blasted his Rival the Duke of *Marlborough's* Reputation: Who, in spite of his great Success in several Campaigns, was hated by the Soldiery, whom he had cheated, literally speaking, of their Bread and their Shirts; and by the Nation, for his Covetousness, and his unparall'd Ingratitude to King *James* and Queen *Anne*: To which Unpopularity perhaps that Insolence of his Dutcheß contributed not a little. For this Reason the Duke of *Ormond* became the Object of his Envy and Hatred, which were not otherwise to be appeased than by Death; therefore his Grace's Life was struck

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truck at by the *Marlborough Faction*; and
 K. George was, by some Incidents, brought
 in as a Party in the Quarrel. Mr. Stan-
 hope, then Secretary of State, tho' perso-
 nally obliged to the Duke of *Ormond*, Im-
 peached his Grace, and fairly told the
 House, in one of his unguarded Sallies of
 Fury, *That the Question was not, Whether*
the Duke of Ormond was guilty, or not, of
the Crimes objected to him, but whether King
George should keep his Crown, or the Duke of
Ormond fall? After this and some o-
 ther Notices, 'twas plain all foul Play was
 to be expected; so his Grace had no part
 to act, but to retire to some Country
 where the Notions of Justice and Honour
 might not be utterly extinguished. But
 'tis to be observed, he did not go off un-
 til the very Day when the *Habeas Corpus*
 Act was suspended, and that he knew he
 was actually to have been seized.

Soon after this Persecution of the No-
 blemen, and from this, among other Vi-
 olences, followed the *Rebellion*; which, if
 Providence had not interposed at that
 Time, must have ended in the Expulsion,
 if not Extermination of the *Illustrious House*.
 It was owned on all hands, That the
 Hearts of the People were turned against
 them: In which case, if *Lewis XIV.* had
 li-

lived, if the Duke of Ormond could have landed in the *West* or *Lancashire*, or, if those unfortunate Gentlemen at *Preston* had had one tolerable Officer to command them, there can be no Question but his Majesty would have been deprived of his Crown at least. To such a happy Situation did his Ministers and Advisers reduce him and the Kingdom; and all this within the short Space of Twelve Months from the most perfect Tranquillity that had been seen for many Years.

Whoever pretends to say, That the rebellious Spirit was rais'd by the *Jacobites*, and by the Measures taken in the late Queen's Reign, manifestly speaks against the Truth. That Miracle was brought about by the Violence of the Court. Men could not live, and tamely see themselves and their Friends spurn'd every Hour, and their Blood pursu'd by a handful of Upstarts, or a parcel of furious Incendiaries: And to see that Family which we had chosen for our *Protectors*, should begin or join in the Prosecution, rais'd the Resentment of most Men.

Notwithstanding all past Successes, the silent Manner wherewith the King now travels thro' our Streets, may put him in mind of the Fall from these Acclamations
which

which at first attended him; and the public Affronts he and his Family have met with at *Plays, Operas*, and their favourite Entertainments, *Masquerades*, cannot but give him some grating Reflexions. The Change cannot surely be imputed to the Fickleness of our Temper: For, the longer the Queen lived, the more popular he grew; neither to the Artifices of the *Jacobites*, otherwise they must be allow'd to have more dexterous and politic Conducters than the Ministry; which, no doubt, the Ministers will never assent to. The Truth is, and cannot be denied, the Disaffection grew and increased by the same Means; by the Partiality, Violence, Weakness, Self-interested Views, and senseless Rage of the Court, which made most Men conclude, tho' unjustly I must own, That his Majesty, either from his own Inclination, or the Influence of Others, was resolved to treat us as a conquer'd hateful People.

When the Rebellion broke forth, the Court got a plausible Pretence for raising a greater Army than was then in Pay: For, as yet they had not ventured to add to the Number, which was the Establishment at his Majesty's Accession to the Throne. Some other Things there were
 E also

also done, which, if they had been done with Prudence, and no odious Circumstances, seem'd reasonable enough: But the Court were heartily frighted, and did not mind Ceremony; they had been before angry without Cause, and now that some was given them, their Anger and Fears working together, they laid about them like Madmen. Doleful and passionate Complaints were made to the Parliament and to Foreign Courts. Their reputed Friends they carefs'd with fulsome Fondness. Against their suppos'd Enemies they thought all Weapons lawful, and no Rigour great enough. And so things went on still from bad to worse.

It is not my Intention to write the History of the Rebellion. It was rashly entered into, weakly sustain'd; and some Accidents happened to suppress it, much more effectual than the Wisdom, Activity, Conduct, Resolution, or Spirit of the Ministers, or Military Commanders. *Car-penter* might easily have been crush'd at *Dunfries*. *Wills*, according to all Rules of War, made a blundering Disposition at *Prestoun*, was repulsed, and might have been cut to Pieces. The *Scotts* Army under Lord *Mar* had not two Barrels of Powder left after the Battle of *Dumblain*.

From

From the Beginning they had but five
 Barrels, procur'd from *Edinburgh*, but ne-
 ver got a Pound from *France*, *Holland*, or
 any other Country; so were in no Condi-
 tion to resist the 6000 *Dutch* Troops that
Cadogan brought to the Army at *Stirling*,
 which was then under the Duke of *Argyle*.
 So that if his Majesty had not owed more
 to some odd Accidents, than to the Pro-
 vision of his Ministry, he might have been
 obliged to get into the first Yatch that
 should have offered, and to leave his Mi-
 nisters, *gentem male fidam*, to their incen-
 ded Enemies.

But it hath pleas'd Providence to con-
 tinue to Us the Blessing of his Majesty's
 Reign. The *Rebellion* was quickly at an
 End; and here again was another fair
 Field for his Majesty to have displayed
 his Wisdom and Lenity; which undoubt-
 edly would have regained him the Af-
 fections of his People. But neither was
 this, now, thought proper. The same
 Spirit, that possess'd the Court before
 and at the Time of the *Rebellion*, remain-
 ed afterwards; as if it had gained new
 Strength by the slight Opposition made
 to it, it rag'd and foamed the more. Of
 this I shall produce some Instances.

From

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A great many Noblemen and Gentlemen, several of them Members of Parliament, were seiz'd by Warrants from the Secretary of State, and committed to the Tower, Newgate, and the Hands of Messengers; where they were treated inhumanly by the Vermin, usually employed on such Occasions. The Frequency of the Thing prevented all Wonder at it. And it was on all Hands agreed, that nothing worse could have happened to any Man at that Juncture, than to be delivered over to the Power of Lord Townshend; who, in Reasoning, Civility, Compassion, good Nature, and polite Language, seemed Industrious to vye with the Bayliff, Keepers and Turn-keys, belonging to those Places, to which his Lordship committed all whom he could lay his Hands upon.

Nor was there any reasonable Proof or Accusation required to justify such Proceedings, Information of little Spies, or meer Conjectures, or personal Picquet were sufficient: And all this the Parliament enabled the Crown to do, by having suspended the *Habeas Corpus* Act, which I take to be so Fundamental a Subversion of the Liberties of the People

Gentle-ple, that I believe there cannot possibly
 of Par-be any one Case put, that should make
 ts from an honest Man consent to the Suspensi-
 irted to on of that Act, even for an Hour. But
 ands of when the Majority of the Parliament
 ted in were but the *Janisaries* of the Court, their
 employ-Conduct is the less liable to censure and
 quency Animadversion.

er at it In the Management of Spies, the Mi-
 d, tha-isters, especially *Townshend*, and his
 ed to a Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*, submit-
 o be de- to baser and lower Methods than
 Town-ave commonly been put in Practice by
 y, Com-the Dealers in Subornation or Perjury;
 Lang-and in this Sort of Traffick his Grace
 ye with of *Marlborough* went as deep as ever
 belong-ates or *Bedloe*, if they had been Living,
 s Lord-ould have devised. I could mention
 ould lay several Particulars of this kind, Three of
 Proof which affected a Lady of great Quality,
 fy such and otherwise loaded with Misfortunes.
 le Spies But his Rancour to her Family is noto-
 Picque-ious enough. Perhaps his Design a-
 re Par-ainst a Reverend Prelate is not so well
 do, by known. His Grace sent *Mr. Craggs* Jun.
 pus A& to *Dunstable* to meet the *Preston-prisoners*,
 mental and to promise Life and Reward to
 he Peo-Mr. *Foster*, provided he would Accuse
 ple the Bishop of—. Of this, Mr. *Foster*,
 who in Reality was a Stranger to the
 Bi-

Bishop, sent his Lordship notice; and when long after, Mr. Craggs was Taxed with this Attempt, he excused himself by saying, *He was a Soldier of Fortune, a young Fellow to make his Way in the World, that he undertook the Office with the greatest Reluctance, but that my Lord Marlborough absolutely forced him to it.* There are 3 or 4 Persons now Living, and one of them of the same Party which Mr. Craggs was of, who were present, when this frank Confession was made; which at least may be to us, a Specimen of the Methods used to preserve it were not the fairest, and most candid in the World.

Troops were sent into several Parts of the Country, rather to insult the Gentlemen and Inhabitants, than for any real Service to the Crown. Particularly at Bath, a scurvy Fellow, one Humphrey Gore was commanded to seize some Persons, who perhaps might have been justly suspected; but in the Execution of his Order, he used great Insolencies to several Ladies of Quality, and in general to all Ranks of People, in so much that, in an Age and Season when Brutality was a common Evil, this Man should be taken notice of, for his peculiar Excellency that way. But his Be-

ha-

ce; and Taxed him to those who employed him: And that was his chief Aim, and besides suited the Bent of his Nature.

The City of Oxford was made a Garrison, where *Handyside*, and others of their infernal Officers, repeated publicly in the Taverns, *Blasphemous Prayers*, and *Songs of Ribaldry*, in ridicule of the *Liturgy and the Psalms*, used in the Churches. What admirable Disciples was the Nation to expect, if those worthy Gentlemen had continued to be our Teachers and Doctors! And yet I am persuaded, there are some Right Reverend Persons of great Name, who would at any Time freely give their Votes, to restore these Apostles to their former Seat and Function.

It would be endless to enumerate all the Passages of this and the like Nature. I write only upon Memory: But the Observation of most Readers may furnish them with several Particulars, that may escape my Notice or Remembrance.

Among other wrong things then committed, the Camp in *Hide-park* gave very great and just Offence, and an Handle to the ill-natured to say, it was a Representation of the Inns in the upper Parts of

of *Germany*, where the *Hogs* and *Oxen* lie at one End, and the Masters at the other. But the real Evil was, it argued a Diffidence of the People, and some degree of Cowardice: It was making the Court a Citadel to awe and subdue the City of *London*, and raised a kind of Indignation and Contempt, which had better be forgot than described.

But the Apprehension the Court was in, that they were not safe without a Camp to protect them, was followed by a worse Precedent, by the Importation of 6000 *Dutch* Troops; for which there could not be one tolerable Excuse, unless Excess of Fears; and as Fear generally makes People run into Danger, this might have made all the *English* Army mutiny, only that at that time they hoped, when the Convulsion was over, the King would become an *Englishman*. How well their Hopes were grounded, the Sequel hath proved. But, surely the bringing over those Troops was an infamous Step. When King *JAMES II* was threatened with an Invasion from *Holland*, to be made by the Prince of *Orange*, and that the *French* King sent Notice of the Attempt, and a Proffer of an Army of *Frenchmen* to secure him; His Majesty generously dis-

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dain'd to accept of those Auxiliaries, and
 said, *it was unbecoming a King of England*
to owe his Security to a Foreign Power. You
 will say, it had been better for him if he
 had accepted of that Proffer: I question
 that much, tho' I own it could not have
 been worse. But certainly his way should
 have been to have thrown himself upon
 a *Free Parliament*, which was a natural
 Remedy, rather than poorly to beg or
 take the Assistance of Foreign Troops, or
 search for an *Asylum* in a strange Coun-
 try. But whether his Resolution was
 wise, or not, surely it argued great Love
 of his People. And in King *George*, the
 contrary appeared an unnecessary Dis-
 trust of the *English*: And in his Ministers,
 it ought to have been interpreted High
 Treason, to set so dangerous an Example
 towards the Conquest and Subjection of
 their Country. The Person who condu-
 cted the Embarkation of those Troops
 and soon after came over, was *Maccart-
 ney*, the Murderer of Duke *Hamilton*, and
 then actually under Sentence of Condem-
 nation. And this was another Circum-
 stance not agreeable to the People, who
 thought it look'd ill, that every thing
 done, under Pretence of preserving the
 F. H.

Hanover Succession, it could be executed by the greatest Scelerats of the Kingdom.

Maccartney was indeed afterwards acquitted: But all Men knew the *Jury* were packed, and my Lord Chief Justice *Parker* was the Judge.

When those unfortunate Gentlemen at *Prestoun* had surrendred themselves Prisoners, upon the magnificent Promises of Mercy, and the Character of Lenity which *Wills* and *Carpenter* assured them of, the first Sign of Mercy was, to shoot four Gentlemen upon the Spot as Deserters, which was done by exprefs Orders from *St. James's*, and was in realiry, the greatest Instance of Lenity in those Times. After this, the Gentlemen of less Note were committed to several neighbouring Dungeons; and the Noblemen and their Commanders were brought up in Triumph, ignominiously Pinioned, and all sorts of Insults encouraged to be offered them on the Road, until they were relieved from such Public Indignities, by being comfortably lodged in the *Tower*, *Newgate*, and other Goals about *London*.

During the few Months of the Rebellion, the Parliament was Prorogued, but met on the 29th of *January*, 1715-16, when his Majesty made a Speech to both

Houses, ordina

outed by
 dom. Houses, in the same Strain, Stile and
 ards ac- Spirit with the first memorable one which
 ury were ed the Way to the Impeachments; on-
 e Parken y with this Difference, That in this lat-
 er Speech he speaks outright, and de-
 men at mands *Acts of Severity* in plain *Engliss*;
 s Priso who' as he further saith, *he designed to have*
 nises of *distinguished his Reign with the fair and en-*
 Lenity *dearing Marks of Clemency.* That is, he
 them of designs to make *Returns of Severity*, be-
 foot four cause People had been faulty; but if no
 sserters; Faults had been Committed, then he
 ers from would have *distinguished his Reign by the*
 ne grea- *fair and endearing Marks of Clemency.* Or,
 Times which is much the same thing, he would
 s Note have been very gracious and merciful, if
 pouring here had been no Persons who stood in
 and o- need of it; but because there are Persons
 t up in who want his *Clemency*, therefore he thinks
 and all himself bound to *indispensible Returns of Se-*
 offered *verity.* Such Royal Language hath his
 e relie- Majesty been taught to speak by his
 by be- wise and able Ministers.

Tower. This Speech had its full Effect, and a
London Flood-gate was opened to all Sort of In-
 Rebel- justice and Cruelties, from Party Re-
 ed, but enge and the reigning intemperate Pur-
 15-16; suit of Favour at Court. Hereupon fol-
 to both owed new Impeachments to prevent the
 Houses, ordinary Course of Law, which perhaps

might have saved some, or retarded the Execution of others; neither of which suited the Inclinations of the Court. Lords were condemned, and it was resolved to execute Six of them without Hesitation or Delay, Sentence having passed on them the 9th, and an Order signed for their Execution the 18th of February. As for the Earl of Wintoun, who was thought a Fool, he had wisely thought fit not to depend upon the Mercy of the Court, nor to plead guilty; and this hindered his being in the Number of the Proscribed, who were to suffer immediately of Death. However, exclusive of him, the Six others would have made a very decent Execution, and have been an agreeable Subject of Entertainment at the Balls, the Leve's, and the Drawing Rooms.

But unluckily, a great Share of the Diversion they were deprived of. Some Sparks of the English Spirit of good Nature broke forth in the House of Lords, and a Motion was made for an Address to his Majesty, in Behalf of the Condemned Lords. This was received by the Courtiers with great Dislike, and by none with so Apparent Signs of Aversion as by his Royal Highness the Prince. A long Debate ensued thereupon, and hence

arded th his Lordship the Earl of Nottingham, once
 of which more recovered himself; and broke all
 the Court Measures with the Court by appearing on
 t was re the Side of Clemency. Many others nau-
 hout He seated the sanguinary Counsels then in
 ving pal Fashion, and the Address was carried
 Order fig by a Majority of twelve, though his
 th of *Royal Highness the Prince* sat himself at the
 oun, wh Head of the *Minority and the Merciless*;
 y though which was such a Disgrace to himself,
 cy of th and to the whole *Illustrious Line*, that I
 this him can never enough deplore the ill Effects
 er of th that had upon the Minds of the People
 mmedi of *England*. To this Address a sullen
 him, th Answer was returned, and to shew how
 ery dece little the Intent of the Address was pur-
 greeabl ued; Three of the Six were ordered for
 he Ball Execution on the 23d of February. And
 oms. lest any Solicitations might be made by
 of the the Commons, where an Address of that
 Kind was attempted, an Adjournment
 od Na of the House was procured untill the
 Lord Work might be over. Which Adjourn-
 Address ment was then owned by Mr. *Walpole*
 he Com in the House to be for that very Reason.
 ived be so, the Way was plained for the inten-
 and bled Executions; of which the proscribed
 version Lords had no Notice untill the Night
 ince. before, when the Dukes of *Richmond and*
 nd her t. *Alban*, Uncles to Lord *Darwentwater*,
 hi came

came to acquaint his Lordship with it, which they did with that Ease, Gaiety, Unconcern and Want of Humanity, that better Messengers could not have been possibly found out for the Purpose.

There was on this Occasion a very remarkable Circumstance, which did the King great Prejudice. In one of the publick Rooms at St. James's, the Lady *Kenmure*, Wife of Lord *Kenmure* to be beheaded, threw herself at his Majesty's Feet imploring Mercy for her Husband. But he spurned her from him with such Signs of Aversion, and such Violence that the Shock threw her flat upon the Ground; which appeared both so unbecoming in a great Prince, and so discourteous in a Gentleman, that it made very ill Impressions upon the Minds of all present, and of all who heard of it, which were not a few. The Lady *Darwentwater*, had not a much better Reception; for I think the *Turks* shut the Door of the King's Apartment in her Face.

Whilst the Court was thus intent on revengeful and bloody Measures, the Parliament passed an Act, which had the Royal Assent on the Twenty-first of January, For the further Continuance of the

suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*; and
 with it when Exceptions were taken to it in the
Gaiety House of Lords; as being wholly unneces-
 sary, and this Amendment proposed,
 have been that the Cause of Commitments should be
 assigned, and that villainous and false Infor-
 mers might be punished; those Clauses were
 rejected, how reasonable soever, and the
 people of *England* were still left to the
 Mercy and Discretion of Lord *Townshend*
 and his *Banditti*.

And likewise, the better to enable my
 Lord Chief Justice *Parker*, and some
 of his Brethren, who were keen
 for Gain and Blood, to exert their Fa-
 vour and their Ardour to do wrong,
 a Bill passed the 3d of *March*, intituled,
An Act for the more easy and speedy Trial
of such Persons as have levied, or shall levy
War against his Majesty. To this Bill
 great Opposition was made in the Hou-
 se, and it was prov'd to be directly
 contrary to the *Magna Charta*, and an
 open Subversion of the ancient and undoubt-
 ed Rights of the Subject, but all this signi-
 fied nothing. Necessity was pretended;
 if there could be any Necessity, to
 make all the People of *England* Slaves,
 which they were effectually by the Two
 first mentioned Acts; or, as if the Main-
 tenance of the

tenance of any one Family could be an Equivalent to the Nation, for the Loss of their Liberties. But besides, the Assertion was false; there was no Necessity for that extraordinary Act: The Rebels might have been tried in their own Countries, or where the Crimes were committed, and enough of them would have been found Guilty to have glutted the thirsty Withers for Blood. But the true Reason was to put the Lives of the poor People, intirely in the Power of the Crown, by divesting them of their Birthright and natural Defence. Perhaps among other Inducements to the Act, the Court desired to have Executions near them, and as it were in their own Sight; and to gratifie this inordinate Passion, there was a Necessity to have the Act pass, and the Rights of the People of England given up to so essential a Point.

But let the Motives for this Act be what they will, it gave the Judges both a Lesson and a Pretext, for very severe and oftentimes very unjust Proceedings. For Example, at Southwark, because the Jury happened to acquit two Gentlemen, the Judges immediately dismissed the Jury, and got another impanneled which

might

might answer their Ends and Views;
 an Equ better than the Former who seemed ten-
 of their der of the Lives of their Countrymen. (I
 tion was believe Baron Price might have been in
 for that that Commission; but he is always to be
 els might excepted, when we speak or think of Un-
 countries just, Cruel, Corrupt or Court-Judges.)
 mitted When the Judges had performed their
 ave been Parts, all possible Barbarities were act-
 he more ed in cold Blood throughout the King-
 the trolom. Many Hundreds were kept Star-
 of the ring and Rotting in several Goals; ma-
 Power ay others were put to Death in such Pla-
 of the ces as were chosen for proper Shambles
 e. Per for such Butcheries. But this is a loath-
 to the some Subject, and seemed so contrary to
 Exec the Character of the King for Lenity and
 e in the justice, that a general Massacre at Prest-
 inordin had been Humanity and good Nature,
 ssity compared to the slow Torture and
 ts of the mangling of those deluded People, who
 so effect ured to the Government, from an
 Imagination of that Clemency which had
 Act been so highly extolled to them.
 es bo It must be owned some few were sav'd;
 y several it was necessary for them and their
 feeding families to beg or starve. And the Rule in
 cause this Case was to save none but such whose
 clemencies being entail'd, their Lives would
 ed that an Advantage to the Government and
 d which G would
 might

would beggar their Families. I know there were Two or Three Exceptions to this, but in general the Fact was so. And this was covered over with the specious Pretence that the *Forfeited Estates* should be given to the *Publick*; and an Act passed to that Purpose. But the *Publick* was to reap no Advantage from this or but very little. For, the Parliament at the same Time appointed *Thirteen Commissioners to enquire of the Estates of certain Traitors, &c.* These Commissioners were *Walpole's Pack-horses*, and were each of them to have 1000 *lib.* a Year which was to cease when their Business was done. They were Men void of all Honour, or Compassion, Indigent for the most part, or thorough pac'd in Villainy; and therefore, from their own Natures, were inclin'd: or out of Self-preservation, and merely for Bread, were compell'd to be grievous to all who had the Misfortune to come before them. And so well they managed Matters, that under one Pretence or other their Commission expired but with the House of Commons. So that their Salaries of 1000 *L.* a year, together with the other *per diem* pences, which amounted at least to 2500 *L.* *per annum*, ate up a great part of the

I know Profits from Forfeitures. Hereby so many more Pensionets were retained in the House, and the King was deprived, in a great measure, of the Power to be truly merciful, if he had been so disposed.

After all this, a great deal more and worse, will any one pretend to wonder at the Continuance or Increase of the *Jacobite* Spirit? With what Countenance can any Man impute it to the *Jacobites*, that the King is become divested of the greatest Ornament of the Crown, the *Affection of his People*? Unless you will say, that *Walpole*, *Townshend*, and the rest of that Sett, were in their Hearts for the *PRETENDER*, and resolve to make the King as unpopular as possible. If this be the Case, they have acted like able Politicians, and have been as successful as Heart could wish.

If hitherto I may seem to have lean'd to what is called the *Tory* or *Church Party*, I have been led into that Manner of Reasoning from undeniable Facts; Facts which admit of no Gloss. And I dare say, there's not one Man of Reason and Temper, be he of what Side he will, provided he wishes well to *England*, but will agree with me in the main, That the Administration, from the Hour of the King's

-Arrival here; to the Times I now write in the
 of, was too partial and too violent: And Ork
 what hath since happened, shews abundantly with
 dantly that the Court hath pursued in Fath
 Measures but such as are, and have been and
 ruinous to the *British Constitution*. The I
 Proofs are beyond Number. King
 All Sparks of the Rebellion were ex perna
 tinguished towards the latter End of the p
bruary, or the Beginning of *March*, 1710 sons
 The Impeachments ended with the Con Steps
 demnation of the Earl of *Winon*. The Fath
 turbulent Spirits of the oppress'd Part ter.
 began to subside: The Kingdom would Th
 soon have settled in a Calmness, which gave
 if cherished, might have suffered us to be to the
 a happy People. But to prevent this, seque
 new inexhaustible Mine of Corruption Many
 was immediately sprung. On the 10th; a
 of *April* his Grace of *Devonshire* offered ity o
 to the House of Peers, the famous Bill Protec
 for *Enlarging the Time for the Continuance of* Reaso
Parliaments, and for the Repeal of the Trienn monst
ial Act. Every one immediately knew it was
 from what Quarter this came. His House
 Grace, tho' a Nobleman of a very ancient Memb
 ent Family, and of a great Hereditary Warm
 Estate, had given himself up to the Con ther
 duct of a Man of worse Understanding there's
 than himself, and was *Townsend's* Tool of the

in this, as he had been formerly led by Others into many Things, inconsistent with Honour and his own Dignity. His Father was a Man of Sense and Spirit, and would have disdained to have been the Instrument of any Minister, or even King, to present to his Country such a pernicious Bill as that was. And his Son the present Duke, hath had ample Reasons to repent of that and several other Steps, wherein he hath swerved from his Father's Principles, Conduct and Character.

This Bill, at the very naming of it, gave great Offence to all who wish'd well to their Country, and dreaded the Consequences of a *Long Pensionary Parliament*. Many Noble Lords spoke warmly against it; and then it was carried by a Majority of Courtiers, and Others entered a Protest, with Reasons, against it. Those Reasons are in Print, and are clear Demonstration of the Iniquity of that Bill. It was likewise strongly opposed in the *House of Commons*, where several of the Members spoke against it with great Warmth and Eloquence. The Arguments therefore shall say little upon; only there's one which I do not remember any of them have taken notice of, and which yet

Yet may carry Weight with it. It is y cl
 That by the Triennial Act, if the King would tam
 dissolve a Parliament, and not call one withi junk
 in 3 Years; then, in that case, a Parliament make
 might be assembled without the Power, or e his M
 ven Consent of the Crown, and might sit a cer f his
 tain Time: So that if the King for the Time prigh
 being, should be misled by evil Counsellors, he led
 Redress of Grievances might be had by Parlia come
 ment within 3 Years. Whereas by the Septen faces
 nial Bill, the King may dissolve his Parlia Arbit
 ment a Month after their Meeting, and ney l
 call another for 7 Years: Space sufficient for Son
 an Arbitrary Prince, by the Help of an Ar os'd
 my and other honest Means, to remove ensio
 Footsteps of our Liberties, and not to leave dese
 the least Signs by which Men might say, the rep
 English were once a Free People. tutio

'Tis true, this hath not literally hap onou
 pened: But how soon this may be th ft E
 Case, none can tell; for 'tis manifestly i eakn
 the Power of the Crown, with the great e wr
 Body of Forces now in Pay, to compa e Re
 it. And that it was not done before this ways
 was probably, because the Parliament wa ey se
 so much at the Disposal of the Court On
 that no Army could have enst to the Court Mont
 try more than that did. And in a abso e Kin
 lute Slavery is not as yet outlida, n men
 Thanks to those who so long and lo brol

It is y clamoured against Arbitrary Power, Ty-
 ranny and Slavery. Those Words were
 sunk into Necessity to enable the King to
 make Alliances— What, will you suspect
 his Majesty!— do you doubt the Goodness
 of his Intentions? Have you not a wise and
 bright Ministry? If Shame had not been
 led with Justice, I should wonder how
 some Men living could dare to shew their
 faces, after all they have said against an
 Arbitrary Government, and all which
 they have done to establish one.
 Some of them were, I believe, impos-
 s'd upon; and some had deep Appre-
 hensions of another Evil: And most of
 these have since fruitlessly endeavoured
 to repair the Breaches made in our Con-
 stitution, by their Assistance. Men of
 Honour and Virtue are not ashamed of
 past Errors. Narrow Souls think it a
 Weakness to own they have once been in-
 e wrong. And perhaps this may be
 the Reason, why the present Court have
 ways gone on in the same Tract in which
 they set out.
 On May the 7th (some Days less than
 Month from its first Appearance) did
 the King give his Royal Assent to the
 Bill. Such quick Dispatch was
 that destructive Work. On
 the

the same Day he pass'd an Act of Attainder, against several Lords, and an Act of Indemnity to all who had acted wickedly or unjustly in his Majesty's Behalf. This was called an Act to indemnify all Persons who have acted in Defence of his Majesty, &c. The same Day or soon after pass'd the Act to Naturalize *Madeleine Schullenberg*, the present Dutchesse of *Kendall*. Upon the 26th of July following pass'd another Act, which tho' it then seem'd of no great Consequence, was however an ill Precedent and hath prov'd in the highest Manner detrimental to the Nation. It was entitled, *An Act to repeal Part of the Act for the Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the People*. This Act of Limitation, provided That no Person who should come to the Possession of the Crown, should go out of the Dominions of England, Scotland or Ireland without Consent of Parliament. The Reasons of that Part of the Act of Limitation were obvious, lest the King, *pro tempore*, by visiting or residing long in foreign Dominions might continue estrang'd from the People of England. Besides, Voyages of that Kind might give Opportunities for Leagues and

stances Prejudicial to the *English* Interest, which cou'd not be so privately negotiated here, as at *Hanover*. And again, those Voyages would afford his *German* Followers the Means to transport to their own Country the Wealth, they might collect here.

But all these and many more good Reasons, notwithstanding this Restriction was taken off, and now the King may go back and forward as often as he thinks fit: Whereby his old Counsellors at *Hanover* may turn his Heart more and more against his own Subjects; new Leagues may be entered into, to our Prejudice, either for transporting foreign Forces hither, or involving us in foreign Wars, against our Interest; and which is almost as bad as all the Rest, here is such a constant Drain upon us of our *Current Specie*, that in a few Years, we may have none, or next to none, left in the Kingdom.

Perhaps you may urge, That all these are only airy Conjectures, invidious Suppositions, without Grounds or Probability: Yet examine 'em, and you'll find them all to be too true. His Majesty hath gone Thrice to *Hanover* since he came here. The first Time, he stay'd a-

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bove

Above Seven Months, pleased to shew
 himself to his *Countrymen* in his new State
 and Grandour : And perhaps from
 the absolute State of Servitude, which
 they are in towards him, contracting
 a full Dislike against all others of his
 Subjects who should refuse to be as ab-
 ject Slaves as they. Here his Majesty
 might project new Palaces of his own
 contriving, not such mean Ones as *Win-
 dor*, which he hath but once seen and
 then in a foggy Day. Here his *Hano-
 verians* had him wholly to 'emseves, and
 could inspire him with what Jealousies
 they pleas'd against the *English*, and
 with what Notions of Government they
 should think would suit his and their
 Aims the best. At least if this hath
 not been so ; If they did not pursue
 their own Interest, and endeavour to
 keep him steady to 'em ; if his Majesty
 hath not acted, and thought naturally
 in giving his own *Countrymen* the Prefe-
 rence in his Affections, and Confidence ;
 and if 7 Months spent in Jollity and
 at Ease were not sufficient to erase out
 of his Mind the small Portion of Regard
 and Indulgence, he might possibly have
 contracted for the *English* Nation. If
 this hath not been the Case, then it
 must

must be owned to be a very surprizing Event, and what was by no Means to be foreseen by those, who repealed that Part of the *Limitation Act*. And his Majesty's future Actions are the best Test whether Things fell out so or not.

That which is undeniable is, Thar it was in this first Journey to *Hanover*, that the League was form'd, which afterwards engag'd *England* in a War with *Spain*. The Influence of the *German* Counsellors, together with the Management of *L' Abbe du Bois* brought this about, and this *Mr. Craggs* in his Letter to *Mr. Monteleone* owns, wherein he acquaints his Excellency, That the King was oblig'd by Treaties of Guarantee and the Neutrality of *Italy*. The Treaties he refers to, were those of the *Triple* and *Quadruple Alliance*, which involved the Nation in an expensive War, and which were finished or projected during his Majesty's stay at *Hanover*.

I Remember my Lord *Stanhope*, in order to justify those Treaties, urg'd in the House of Lords, That we were oblig'd by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, to Guarantee the Neutrality of *Italy*: But this was a miserable Evasion; for, every one knew that Obligation subsisted but only

Flagrante bello, during the War between the Emperor and France, which was at an End several Years before this new Engagement. This was one Part of the Fruit we reaped from the King's Journey.

As for the Opportunities such Journeys afforded his Followers to convey away the Wealth and *Specie* of the Kingdom, we have felt that ill Consequence but too sensibly. In the first Journey, all the Money, Plate and Jewels which had been got for *Titles*, *Garters*, *Places* and *Grants* were packed up and carried off. Some great Ladies, who came here with Wooden Shoes, went away with Chests full of *Gold* and *Silver*; All their Utensils for the Chamber, Table, nay the Kitchens, were massy Plate, and particular Directions given the *Gold* and *Silver* Smiths, to make every Thing as thick and heavy as possible; and lest this might be divulg'd, there was a particular Order, That no Custom-house Officers, or proper Searchers should go on Board such Ships as were loaded with the Pillage of the *Three Kingdoms*. The *Locusts* which the *East Wind* brought into *Egypt* did great Mischief, but they carried away nothing but their

between their Carcafes, and those of the *Egyptians*, had the Pleasure to be drowned by a strong *West Wind*. But our *Locusts* are grievous, not only in their Visits, but at their Departure, *They come empty, and go away loaded.*

From that Journey, and their perpetual Transporting vast Sums in *Crowns* and half *Crowns*, ensued that Scarcity of *Silver* about Three Years ago, that was thought a Matter fit for the Lords to enquire into; though the Credit of the *Places* Persons concerned was too great, to permit either a Discovery or Remedy.

But all this, as great and Intolerable as it was, is nothing to the second Plunder of the Nation in *Summer 1720*: When the King himself Sold, out a vast deal of *South Sea Stock* and Subscriptions at 800 and 900 per Cent. and when that prodigious deal of fictitious Stock was pretended to be Sold, we all knew the greater, much the greater Part of those Sums were paid to the King, the *Duchess of Kendall*, *Madam Kilmanseck*, *Countess of Leinster*, and the Rest of the *Hanoverian Favourites*, and it was likewise all spirited away to *Hanover*, of which the Proofs are plain. For, besides what was carried away in *Specie*, so much

much was remitted by Bills, that instantly upon the King's Departure, the Exchange to *Holland* fell very much against us, and could never be got up again before the fatal *Catastrophe* and Crack of the *South Sea*. Thus *Hanover*, which is the bareneſt Part of *Germany*, became the Gulph of *England*, and hath swallowed up the Wealth of our trading Merchants, and of Thouſands of our honourable Families, as well as the Bread and Means of Subſiſtance of many Orphans and Widows; and this hath been another Effect of the above-mentioned Repeal.

For this, however, there was the Pretence of an Act of Parliament. But the Act of *Limitation* hath been broken through in a very eſſential Point, without any Pretence of a Repeal. By that Act it is expreſſy provided, That *Great Britain* ſhall not engage in any War upon the Account of the King's foreign Dominions. This Part of the Act is ſtill in Force, yet we have been involved in Wars, deſtructive of the Trade and Inter-eſt of the Kingdom, in order to acquire to the King *Bremen* and *Vherden*, which of Right belong to *Sweden*, and we have done this, not only contraven-

to our own Act of Limitation, but to our Faith and Treaties.

By the Treaty of *Westphalia*, and also that of *Travendale*, whereof the King of *England* is *Guarantee*, *Bremen* and *Vherden* was to be secured to the Crown of *Sweden*; the Elector of *Brunswick* is likewise *Guarantee* of this Article of that Treaty; yet notwithstanding his Majesty was thus in a double Capacity *Guarantee* of the Possession of those Provinces to the Crown of *Sweden*, he thought fit to purchase them for the King of *Denmark*, whilst the King of *Sweden* was struggling with an Alliance against him, and from whom those Provinces have been seiz'd by the King of *Denmark* in a tyratical Manner. Thus that Unfortunate but brave Prince, was used by his ally and *Guarantees*, and by this have been forced into Three successive Wars.

By Agreement with the Czar of *Muscovy*, in consideration of the Sale of *Bremen* and *Vherden* to the Elector of *Brunswick*, his Majesty King *George* promised to join his Fleet to the *Danish* and *Russian* Fleets, to act against *Sweden*. *Bremen* and *Vherden* were put into his Possession the 1st of *October* 1715, and next Year our Fleet

Fleet was sent into the *Baltick*, and actually did assist the *Danes* and *Russians*, because the King of *Sweden* would not consent to that unjust Seizure of part of his Dominions. At length it came to a Prohibition of Commerce, and an open Rupture between us and *Sweden*. But if the King of *Sweden* would have consented to the Dismembring of his Dominions, King *George* promised to join him against the *Czar*; altho', by the *Czar's* Influence over the King of *Denmark*, those Provinces were first put into his Majesty's Possession.

The Honesty of the *German* Ministers is herein fully exemplified. To get *Bremen* and *Vherden* for King *George*, *England* must join with the *Czar* against *Sweden*; to secure that Acquisition to King *George*, *England* must join with *Sweden* against the *Czar*. But their Assurance exceeded even their Knavery: They undertook promisorily that *England* should do this, and their Presumption came to that height, that Baron *Bothmar's* Nephew affronted Sir *John Norris* at *Copenhagen*, because Sir *John* did not think it fit to receive his Orders from so inconsiderable a *German* Commissary.

The Investiture of these Provinces from the Emperor was also necessary to secure his new Purchases. In order to procure that Investiture, and for some other good *German Reasons*, We became his Allies against *Spain*: We treacherously fell upon the *Spanish Fleet*, and afterwards our Men of War attended, like so many Transport Vessels, to carry the Emperor's Forces back and forewards from *Naples to Sicily*; and in all this disgraceful *Mediterranean Expedition*, our Seamen were obliged to do the Drudgery of Galley-slaves. To so unworthy an Office was the Fleet of *England* expos'd; and to this Sir *George Byng* submitted, with that Tractableness which he has always observed to the Dictates of Ministers, and which he ever will observe, while there is any thing to be gained by it.

Lastly, To procure the present King of *Sweden's* Consent to a Cession of *Bremen* and *Vherden* to his Majesty King *George*, We have actually joined the *Swedes* against the *Czar's Fleet*. Thus *Bremen* and *Vherden* have occasioned to us three Wars: One, in conjunction with the *Czar* and the King of *Denmark*, against *Sweden*; Another, against *Spain*, by our being Allies to the Emperor, or rather Principals

in the War; and a Third, wherein we have joined with *Sweden* against the Czar. The Charge of the Navy alone amounted to above 3 Millions *Sterl.* besides a Debt of 900 000 *L.* over and above what was allowed for that Service by Parliament. As to the innumerable Losses to the Nation, from the Interruption of Trade and Commerce, and other ill Consequences, those may be more easily imagined than computed.

With all which the Parliament hath complied and sat down contented, because King *George* is a good King; because the Ministry are uncorrupt; because the Public are too rich; and because the Houses of the Lords and Commons are equally filled with Men of Virtue, Honour, and Concern for their Country.

When this Matter of late came before the House of Peers, and several of them demanded, as they had Right to it, to have Lord *Carteret's* and Sir *John Norris's* Instructions laid before them, it was peremptorily refused by the Court: And the Reason given was, *Because the Peace was concluded.* And when they demanded to see the Papers relating to the *Spanish* War, that also was refused, because it was *pendente negotio*, and that the Peace

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was not concluded. But the true Reason was, lest the manifest Breach of the *Limitation Act* should regularly appear, and thereby the Practices of the *English Ministry* and *German Chancery* should be exposed to Censure. The *German Ministry* are, without doubt, by much more excusable, since they have acted for the Interest of their Country: But the *English*, to the Ruin and Prejudice of theirs. And his Majesty, in his whole Transactions, hath acted a natural Part; for tho' he be King of *England*, *Hanover* is the Place of his Birth and Education.

I hope this Digression about *Bremen* and *Vherden* will not seem impertinent to my Purpose: I was willing to give the Reader at once a clear View of that Affair, which hath cost *England* so much, and hath been the Spring of so many extraordinary Measures. 'Tis now high Time to return to his Majesty's Preparations to visit his Foreign Dominions in 1716.

That Madamoiselle *Schulemburg* might shine in *Hanover* with new Honours, as well as Wealth and Diamonds, his Majesty was pleased to create her a *Baroness*, *Countess*, *Marchioness* and *Dutchess*; and, because he was extremely press'd by some of the *English Ministers*, to make the

Prince Regent in his Absence ; but this was with much Difficulty resolv'd upon : But they determin'd to restrain his Royal Highness by Instructions, which limited the Power of his Place very much, or rather, took it quite away.

The Army was put under a new Establishment of General Officers, out of which his Grace the Duke of *Argyle* was not only left, but he and his Brother the Earl of *Mla* removed from all their Employments, What their Faults might be, was not said : But it was an odd Turn to see his Grace, who really had saved *Scotland*, and perhaps *England*, to the *Illustrious House*, dismiss'd from all Places of Trust, and which was worse, of Profit, within half a Year, or something more, after he had performed those signal Services. Certainly his Grace hath shewn himself to be of a very meek, charitable and Christian Temper, in afterwards submitting to accept of the Place of *Steward of the Household*, and of a trifling Rod, in stead of a General's *Baton* : Whilst his Rival *Cadogan* now struts at the Head of the Army, and excuses himself for conversing with his Grace of *Argyle*, by saying *Mr. Walpole* had prevailed upon him to do it.

The

The King came to the House of
 Peers, and according to his Custom de-
 livered his Speech to the Lord Chancellor
 to be read to both Houses: Herein
 his Majesty commends the Parliament
 for their *Wholesome and necessary Laws, and*
for their Zeal for the Prosperity of their Coun-
try. How Wholesome those Laws were, and
how Zealous they have been for the Prosperity
of their Country, appears abundantly from
 the many Invasions on our Liberties,
 and the present miserable Condition to
 which the Nation is reduced. His Ma-
 jesty proceeds to applaud his own Con-
 duct, especially for the *gentle Methods a-*
greeable to his Inclinations. It is true,
 some of the Guilty were by short Re-
 lieves kept living: But I appeal to
 all Men, whether that were not a Sort
 of lingering Death. Were there four Men
 of the whole Number frankly pardoned?
 No, not three I believe: Nay, his Ma-
 jesty, as he was leaving *England,* and go-
 ing to take Water at *Whitehall,* met a
 parcel of those Prisoners manacled and
 chained, passing to *Westminster* to be con-
 demned: Yet no Pardon appeared; no
 signs of Grace, even when he had so
 fit an Opportunity to have left behind
 him a Mark of Tenderness to his People;
 and

and it was ever the Practice, untill his Majesty's Time, for a King of *England* to pardon any Criminals, who should casually fall in his Way. But this is not the only Particular, wherein his Majesty hath been perswaded to think fit, to descend from the Character of a King of *England*.

The Speech further saith, he endeavoured rather to reclaim Men, than make Examples; and appeals to his numerous Instances of Mercy. Would not one think, that the Person who drew this Speech, had amind to write a Satyr in the strongest Irony Words could put it? And if it was Translated into *High Dutch*, that his Majesty might read it, would not one conclude he had been kept lock'd up from Mankind for the last six Months; otherwise he would not gravely try to put such an Imposition upon the Understanding of the World?

The Speech goes on, in the accustomed Strain of Bitterness against a Faction, restless and unwearied in their Endeavours to subvert the Religion, Laws and Liberties of their Country; for so they are here painted. Was not this Compliment a very likely Way to reclaim the Faction. His Majesty was now about to leave the

King

Kingdom, and lest the World should imagine he had abated of the Resentment he brought hither, he gives this Sting at Parting. This is one of his Demonstrations of his *Desire of Reclaiming*. Surely, to give ill Words, and call ill Names, is not the most natural Way to pacify *Foolish or mad People*, as he calls them: Nor is it the Language the most decent for a Prince to speak in his Closet, and it is less decent from the Throne. But to make amends for this, he informs us he hath *Constituted his beloved Son the Prince of Wales, Guardian of the Realm in his Absence*. Which was perhaps the only Act of his Reign that gave himself and the Nation equal Satisfaction.

Soon after his Majesty embarked for *Holland*, without leaving behind him any extraordinary Unwillingness to part with a Nation which had given him every thing he was pleased to ask.

Having attended his Majesty from his first Arrival here, to the Time of his first Expedition to *Hanover*, I think this may give us a full Specimen of what sort of Government we are fallen under. The sequel of this Administration will deserve a Second, and perhaps a Third Part.

Part: In the mean time, let us consider what is our Case at present.

Among Foreigners we are generally despised, that is, the Nation is in Contempt whilst the Government is formidable. Our Court, by keeping the Ministers of foreign Princes, and likewise the Parliament at Home in Pay, and a standing Army to support the Oppressions upon the People, carry the Face of Power; But the Nation suffers in Credit for enduring this; for permitting our natural Strength and Wealth to be converted to Ends prejudicial to our Interest; and for our being represented abroad by little foreign Fellows, picked out of Dirt and obliquity to be Residents and Ministers for *England*. *Schaub* first at *Madrid*, now at *Paris*; *St. Saphorin* at *Vienna*; *D'ayrollin* in *Holland*, are the Chief, nay only Persons entrusted to take care of the *English* Interest. How well they are likely to intend that Matter is not hard to Judge. The Former of these who is a *Swiss* was exceeding impertinent to our Ambassador *Sir Robert Sutton*, and a Son of Spy upon him, having been solely entrusted with the Secret of the Court altho' *Sir Robert*, for Reasons best known

to himself, hath coolly put up the Affront, and condescended to endeavour to serve in another Capacity: In short, all the three are Slaves to the *Germans*, and to be purchased for a few Livres ready Money, which, untill they dropt into these high Posts, was a Novelty to them, as it had been to all their Forefathers.

'Tis likewise a Matter of some Astonishment, and of great Ridicule of our Nation, that we pretend to talk of our Liberties, whilst we tamely and hourly suffer one Part or other of our Constitution to be paired off, to compliment whom we called in to preserve it; or, which is worse, to compliment the Betrayers of the King, and the real Enemies of our Country.

With Relation to our Domestic Affairs, Things are in great Confusion, the Church Establishment hath been apparently struck at, and undermined: That was thought of such little Moment at Court, that a silly dull Discourse of *Hoddy*, preached in the Yearning of his Bowels, towards Court Favour, induced the Court to abolish Convocations, not that there was any Thing skilful in that Sermon, or that the Man was of any great Weight or Consequence. So far from
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that, they despised him when they made him a Bishop, supported, and since promoted him, chiefly to spight those who wish well to the Church: And for one other prevalent Motive, which is, to destroy the Church by the Clergy, by promoting to the chief Preferments, the most ignorant and offensive of their Order; and it can never be denied, but they have laid their Scheme well, and hitherto have executed it with great Success: Witness *Talbot, Gibson, Blackburn* with many others.

Besides, they have got a new Maxim for the better Discipline of Ecclesiasticks and more servile Obedience of the reverend Bench. They are resolved to give all the good Prebends of the Bishops in *Commendam*, which is a new Way to make 'em entire Pensioners of the Court, and to impoverish the inferior Clergy, who have been found, have been honest Men than their Betters; and consequently must be kept low in their Purles and Spirits. The Repeal of the *Occasional Conformity* and *Schism Acts*, was an Instance of the Complaisance to the Dissenters, and how little the Interest of the Church was to come into Competition with that of its avowed Enemies. Those Acts, it was

pretended, encroached so far upon Liberty of Conscience. But pray observe, the Court at the same Time have taken away Liberty of Conscience from the *Episcopal Party* in *Scotland*, by repealing the *Relief granted* in the Latter-end of the *Queen's Reign*, to the *persecuted Episcopal Clergy* in that Kingdom; so that Liberty of Conscience is a delectable Thing in *England*, but under the *Kirk of Scotland*, it is an Abomination and a Discouragement to King *George's* best Friends. This is the Fact in their own Way of stating it; But in its full Light it wou'd appear, not only an unjust Partiality to the Disenters, But an open Violation of the Terms, by which his Majesty enjoys his Crown.

The Mismanagement of the State is, I doubt not, obvious to most Men, not excepting even the Managers themselves, for I think they do not pretend seriously, unless in a Speech from the Throne, to justify their Proceedings; and the Thing is too apparent, the Publick Money hath been squandered away, as if on purpose to beggar us: Since his Majesty's Accession, we have added about ten Millions to the Publick Debts, near four of which have been for the Expences of the Na-

vy, beyond the necessary Charges thereof; and we have already seen upon what ruinous Projects our Fleets have been employed 900000 L. or thereabouts, was a Debt which was run into without the least previous Notice given to either House; and if this be not levying Money upon the Subject, without Consent of Parliament, I know not what is The greater Part of this, and the other three Millions was contracted for the *Northern War*, subsequent to the King's Demand of 250,000 in a Parliamentary Manner, which he promised should prevent all future *Apprehensions* from that Quarter: But notwithstanding his Promises, and that what he asked was granted, yet his and the Ministry's *Apprehensions* still continued, new Squadrons were yearly fitted out, and our Debts and Expences have multiplied beyond all Bounds. The *Commissioners* for stating the *Debts* of the *Army*, have run 'em up to 2100000 L. of which 1200000 L. hath been certified to Foreigners, upon the slightest Pretences; and for which, it is more than conjectured, the *Foreign Agents*, who belong to the Court, have had large Premiums, otherwise there can be no other Method of accounting

for

there- for it, how such unreasonable Demands
 what upon us came to be received; and the
 been less, because it had been complained of
 abouts, by the Court, that their Enemies had
 with- made the Estimate so high as 400,000 *L.*
 ven to on Purpose to reflect on their Conduct.
 vyng so, here is 1700,000 *L.* more in one
 Con- Lump, than they thought could pos-
 sibly have been demanded on the Score
 hat is of the Army Debts; and it is but chari-
 other table to think, all this would not have
 or the been allowed for nothing.

King's Pensions have been multiplied, and
 entary Salaries augmented in a most lavish Man-
 d pre- ner, 336 *L.* 2. 6. was thought by Queen
 that Elizabeth an ample Pension for a Duke
 s Pro- of Brunswick, but now there is scarce a
 s gran- Pimp about Court but has 4 Times that
 Appre- Sum; nay, Pensions are annexed to the
 adrons most gaintful Posts. The present Lord
 Debts Chancellor would not accept of the Great
 beyond Seal without a Pension of 5000 *L.* the
 tating Speaker of the late House of Commons,
 em up Mr. Compton had one or two beneficial
 . hath Employments in *commendam*, besides the
 on the Advantages of the Chair, which no one
 ch, in ever understood, or studied so much of,
 Foreign as he: Nay, *Lechmore* insisted on a Pen-
 have sion of 1500 *L.* to be added to the Salary
 ther of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,
 unning which
 for

which was 1500 L. more; and by Dint
 of Perseverance, and valuing his own A-
 bilities, obtained both that and the
 Dutchy for Life. Most of the Salaries
 of the other great Officers have been
 proportionably increased. Those I have
 named being some of the least worthless
 of the Court, are sufficient to give an
 Idea how the publick Treasure hath been
 scattered and dissipated: If this Profu-
 sion had been confined only to Natives,
 there woud have been still left us this
 Comfort, that tho' the publick Money
 were scandalously misapplied, yet it
 woud remain and circulate among our
 selves. But by the exorbitant Allowan-
 ces to Foreigners, vast Sums are annihi-
 lated, so far as relates to us: They are
 transported to *Hanover*, whence *Vestigia
 nulla retrorsum*, no Signs of a Return of
 any Thing from these black Realms, but
 of such who come to plunder us again.
 And because the Spoils of *England*
 can't gorge 'em sufficiently, the exhausted
 Kingdom of Ireland must have its Share
 of the Burden. The Dutchess of *Kendal*
 hath 3000 L. a Year upon the Irish Es-
 tablishment, Baron *Berensdorf* 2500 L.
 Madam *Kilmanseick*, now Countess of
Leinster 1500 L: and all this over and a-
 bove

above what they fleece *England* of, where *Kilmanseick* has 5000 *L.* a Year; and the *Dutchess*, I suppose, as much as she will modestly please to ask.

As to the Debts upon the Civil List, no one need be at Loss to account for 'em, who considers the Pensions above mention'd, the great Number of Members of both Houses of Parliament, retained in Fee the Disbursements for Corruptions of all Kinds, and the heavy Load of *Germans* are upon it. It was proposed indeed, to pay off those Debts by Parliament, which was in Effect a Project for the Courtiers to pay themselves: But the Remedy became much worse than the Disease, 600,000 *L.* was engaged to be paid, towards the Discharge of those Incumbrances, by two Bubbles called *Assurances*, which was a Loss to the Nation of 6 *Millions*, by the most moderate Computation, and occasioned the Ruin of many Thousands of Families. Those *Assurances* being but Bubbles, could pay, and that not honestly neither, but one Moiety, and the other was remitted to 'em on the Score of their Inability to pay a Shilling of it. To supply this Deficiency, Application was again made to the *liberal House* of *Com.*

Commons; and instead of 300,000 L. which remained to be paid to discharge the 600,000 L. Debt, 500,000 L. was now granted, according to the Modesty of the Askers; and this, just at the Time of the universal Destruction, brought by the Fall of the South-Sea upon all Ranks of Men, the Court and the Directors, and perhaps a few other Sharppers excepted: Yet notwithstanding all this, I am credibly informed, the Civil List is again in Debt between 3 and 400,000 L.

What can any Man say in Excuse for all this? Let the most impudent Advocate for Corruption offer any Thing, even Sophistry to palliate these Enormities, and we shall be silent. I believe even *Robin Walpole* will scarce gravely attempt an Apology. There was a Time, when the good Man was Squeamish and loudly proclaimed in the House of Commons, That he might still have kept his Employments, if he would have concurred in the measures of the Court. He continued a Country Gentleman, as he stiled himself, for some Time, but still looked askint after the *Flesh Pots of Egypt*. So he voted, on the one Hand, for a Standing Army, for martial Law, and to send *Mr Shippen* to the Tower, for speaking with the Freedom that becomes an honest *Engelishman*; and on the other, he appeared strenuously against *Cadogan* for a poor Piece of Plunder, not more than 12000 L. But *Robin's Patriotship* was but short Liv'd: It was a Part not natural to him. His Price was offered him at last, and now he

very frankly confesses, *Quand on est a la grande messe, on y est*: Or, which is much the same in English, *Over Shoos, over Boots*.

It is to be observed, I have not touched upon the Increase of the Allowance to the Privy Purse. Though 50000 L. a Year, regularly exported out of the Kingdom, is a Drain, which how insensible soever now it be, the Nation may one Day feel in earnest. Not that I GRUDGE this, I only wish it may not be a Bribe from *Walpole* to carry something worse.

Who can mention the Mismanagements of the present Reign, without thinking of the *South-Sea* Project? That black Affair can never be removed from the innermost Chambers of the Court. It is said, that *Whigs* and *Tories* and all Parties were engaged in it; and this is true, but all were not guilty of the Foulness of it. Most of them were drawn in and inveigled from a blind Persuasion of the Integrity of this or that Man, his Minister or that Director; and the People, the Multitude were the Dupes. The Court at *James's* and that at *Mr. Knight's* went amicably Hand in Hand. They sold out, realized, buried or transported the Fortunes of innumerable Families: And it is no Secret who were the Gainers. For the known Fact is, both *Whigs* and *Tories* were mingled in the Game, and were both treated alike, whilst the Court and the Directors, with *Aislachie*, swept the Board.

Yet our Ruine was not the most provoking circumstance of our Case. Justice against the delinquents was denied us. The Court with its whole force interposed; first in Behalf of *Charles Stanhope*, whose Guilt was flagrant, next of Lord *Underland*, first Minister, and which was worse, when *Aislachie* escaped with only a gentle Mulct

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and a short Imprisonment; and the Reason given for this Tenderness towards the most hardened Offender was, lest he should tell *Tales*, which, considering how open his Threats were, was the greatest Affront to the Majesty of the King that could be offered, except that other of the King's excusing himself to the City of *London*. For both these Facts, the Screening *Aislabie*, lest he should tell, and the Profession of his Majesty's Innocence, tended only to convince Mankind, that he was deeper in the Business than could in Decency be imagined.

After this, *Knight's* Escape and the great Indulgence to the Directors may be the more easily swallowed. So much appeared and hath been done, that People are at an End of their wondering, and can conceive nothing so bad, but what may be very consistent with the rest of the Conduct of the Court. Upon all these Occasions Mr. *Walpole* shone in his proper Sphere; the Refuge of the Distressed, the avowed Champion of Villainy: And whatever Men may say of him, surely no one but himself, could have been so perfectly adapted to the Work he undertook. The several Steps he hath since taken in the *Ingratements* and other Particulars, rather continue his Character than give it any new Light.

But the worst Part of the whole was the Behaviour of the *Royal Family*. Whilst *South-Sea* was at the Height, they made their Markets. The *Caravan* that went with the King transported vast Quantities of our Specie, and occasioned the Fall of Exchange from *Holland* before taken notice of. The *Prince* and *Princess* descended to desire Subscriptions in all Bubbles, *Copper* *Trading*, and I know not what, and boasted of their Gains. Their Gains! From whom? From *Widows*, decayed *House-keepers*, *Tradesmen*

young Gentlewomen of small Fortunes: For, these were the People most injured by this Species of Gaming. Was this becoming the Expectants of the Crown? Or was it proper for them to jest on the Misfortunes of some of the Adventurers? But this is a disagreeable Subject, that can be of Use only to the Persons, who probably would be most offended at it.

When the Stock began to decline by the Knavery of the Directors, and the vast Sums exported to *Hanover*, all Endeavours were used by the late Secretary Mr. *Craggs* to prevail with his Majesty to come over to *England*, to give new Life to Credit, by meeting of the Parliament, or other Methods. He wrote Letter upon Letter to that Effect; complained vehemently of the Delays; but all to no Purpose. His Majesty was engaged in building a magnificent Palace at *Hevenhausen*, I think, or near it, and either was kept ignorant of our Situation, or did not think fit to come, untill the Time he first prefixed to move: And then the Evil here was gone too far to admit of any Remedy.

His Majesty at length arrived to be Witness of the greatest Scene of Misery we have ever seen, and which this Nation was brought into by his Ministers and Advisers; and though the Outcries of the undone Sufferers might have reached his Ears in his most intrenched Cabinet, yet there seem'd to be no more Notice taken of it, than what he mentioned in his Apology, which, I am sorry to say, few People believed, and all Men pitied him for making it. By this Time the Dutchess of *Kendal* was discovered to have had a large Share in the publick Plunder, and her Name was then on the List of those, who had the greatest Part of the *Fictitious Stock*; yet she almost affected to appear more richly adorned than or-

inary, and displayed that goodly Person of hers, bedecked all over with Jewels and Diamonds, every one of which cost perhaps the Ruine of some innocent Family. In short, to such a Pitch were Things arrived, that it is hard to say which was the greater; The Tameness and passive Spirit of the *English*, or the Indiscretion, Assurance, and Rapaciouness of the *Germans*.

What hereafter followed might deserve a History a-part. Every Hour almost hath been productive of some new Attack upon our Constitution, of new Oppressions, new Acts of Perfidy. The latest in my Memory is the *Screening Baron Page*; which was one of the weakest things ever committed by the Court, and only to be excused by the Necessity they have brought upon themselves to protect all Instruments of Corruption; because indeed that is the Support of their own unnatural Power, otherwise they would have given up *Page*, as a Fool, tho' they might like him for his other Qualification. But in Defiance of Shame and Sun-shine they brought him off. So the Lives and Fortunes of the People of *England* are still at his Mercy: He's still a Judge, an Interpreter of the Law, and perhaps the Danger is the less, because, according to the Course things are likely to take, the *Will* of the Ministry is soon to be our only *Law*. And then it will avail little, whether such upright Persons as *Baron Page*, be our Judges, or not.

Thus, Gentlemen, you have had an imperfect View of a long Train of Abuses, Oppressions, Injustices, Cruelties, and arbitrary Proceedings. To these you have been exposed these many Years; and the Question now is, *Whether you will wear your chains any longer?*

You have seen a *Standing Army* and *Martial Law* established; your *Liberties* overthrown; your *Constitution* in Church and State, in many

essential Points, subverted; and your Fortunes squandered away, to acquire Dominions in *Germany* to be annexed to *Hanover*, and to enrich *Foreign Minions*, who are now preparing to transport another Cargo of *Bullion* out of the Kingdom; and who are every Day contriving to send it over, as appears by the Entries at the *Custom-house* of Gold and Silver for *Holland*, and by the immense Quantity of Plate, made for *Traveling Equipage*, as it is called.

In this Situation, what Redress is left you? Whence can you hope for a Remedy? The House of *Lords* is composed of abandoned Creatures of the Court. The *Bishops* and *Dignitaries* of the Church are the willing *Stepping-stones* of the Ministers in all their *Dirty Work*. And *Bribery*, *Power*, and all the other *Engines* of the Court are play'd off, to rake together just such another Body of profligate Tools as the late *House of Commons*. This the Court do not scruple to own. And the modest *Mr. Compton*, in his departing Speech to the King, most devoutly prayed for such another *House of Commons*; in which I think him much in the right; and do believe him very sincere, because none, but such another *House of Commons*, would choose such another *Speaker*. His Speech is published, and is the lowest and most insipid Performance I have yet read, except a fulsome Panegyrick upon the *South Sea Project*, which he uttered at the Close of that memorable Session, wherein the Destruction of Public Credit was devised and effected. I hope to see that speech also Printed in due Time, as a further specimen of his Eloquence and Integrity. For the present I leave him in the full Possession of the Honour of these two Pieces, and of his perfidious Conduct towards all Parties; and (in his manner of concluding) may he enjoy it till Time shall be no more!

From

From the Compassion of the King for his Subjects, we might perhaps have hoped for Relief, But his Majesty hath been pleased to leave us desperate on that Side too. He hath publickly espoused and extolled the Betrayers of him, and of their Native Country: And has made a Speech, which is no less than a Declaration of War against his People, supposing that *People* implies Nineteen Parts in Twenty of the Inhabitants of this Kingdom.

In this Speech, his Majesty compliments the *Lords and Commons* for what they have done this *Last Session*, for the *Ease and Advantage* of his *People* — and for the many and great *Encouragements* They have given to our *Trade and Manufactures* — Is not this strange Language at this time? Could one have expected it? *Ease and Advantages*, and *Encouragements* — whilst we are smarting with the Wounds they gave us; whilst we labour with all the Disadvantages that ever a People groaned under; whilst we are beggared, and have little or nothing to trade with. What shall we say to such Impositions, but that we are fallen into the lowest Ebb, in their Opinion, and that the Ministry think, we have borne their *Tyranny* so long, we can now be paid with their *Nonsense*.

The next Thing the King takes notice of, is of the *Commons raising more Money*, which he is pleased to call a further Proof of their *Regard for the Public*, What — *Walpole and Minshul and Compton*, Public-Spirited Gentlemen? Yet they have Raised more Money for the King, by taxing the People. At this rate, they have shewn more *Regard for the Public*, than the Public is willing to thank them for: And if the Public were to be Polled, and the Votes taken, I believe there are 99 in 100, who would vote for giving more substantial

stantial Rewards than Thanks to these good Patriots.

I cannot, faith the King, in Justice part with this Parliament without returning my sincerest Thanks for your steady Adherence to my Person. Yes; they have Adhered to his Person, as Leeches and Bugs; and whenever they grow full, or cease to get enough; or see better Food, they will fall off or run away, and then, and then only, will they deserve his Thanks.

But they have Adhered likewise to the Interest of the Protestant Cause. Was it for the Interest of the Protestant Cause, to Divest the late King of Sweden of his Dominions in Germany? To enable the Regent to suppress the growing Reformation in France? To leave the Reform'd Palatines to the Fury of a bigotted Prince? To maintain, or permit a Popish College in Hanover? And to extend the Power of the House of Austria, the ancient and perpetual Enemy to the Reformation?

The Speech proceeds, — *The Enemies of our happy Constitution have given the most honourable Testimony to your Behaviour, by their implacable Malice against you — They are at this Juncture reviving the same wicked Arts of Calumny and Defamation. I should be glad to know who these Enemies are. Why, They are those, who are Recommending themselves to the Favour and good Opinion of my People.*

That is, all those are Enemies of our happy Constitution, who are in the Favour and good Opinion of the People. And of this the King is, no doubt, the best Judge; because he knows, better than our selves, when we are Easy and Happy. We are so now, he tells us; and if we will not believe it, then we are Enemies of our happy Constitution. I am really sick of the Bitterness that reigns throughout this last Speech, as much as in the first

first his Majesty ever delivered from the Throne. There is a venomous Spirit in it. It is a stupid Invektive against the People of England, because they do not like the last Parliament, and are not fond of the Misery which *That* hath entailed upon us. This is surely very hard, that we shall not be allowed to feel for our selves, but that, whether we will or not, we must approve of the vilest Set of Men that ever sat in a Parliament, or governed a Nation. If we are permitted to think and speak for our selves, we unanimously cry out, *That the last Parliament was execrable.*

But for our great Comfort, the King saith, *I am firmly determined to continue to countenance such as have manifested their Zeal for the present Establishment.* That is, he is Determined to go on in the old Way. No Hope of changing our Condition; no Prospect of his Majesty's opening his Eyes, and of his becoming an equal Parent of his People. We therefore see what we are to trust to. And that his Majesty may be enabled to do as he threatens, he proceeds to recommend those to be chosen in the next Parliament, who by their Behaviour have hitherto Recommended themselves to him. Here the Freedom of Elections is invaded afresh. The first time it was done in a Proclamation, and now we have it in a Speech from the Throne.

So the Sum total of the Speech is; The King approves of the last Parliament, likes the same Men still, desires the Good-will of all his Friends to be secured to them, and calls all Men who are not of his Mind, *Enemies to our Religion and Liberties.*

From this exact State of our Affairs, all Englishmen may see, that the only Part they have to act, is to act with Spirit and Vigor, and to endeavour, as far as in them lies, to rescue his Majesty

jeſty from the Hands of a Miniſtry, who betray the Nation, aim at *Arbitrary Power*, and will certainly ſucceed in it, if not prevented by a Houſe of Commons, who will tell his Majeſty Truth and do the Country Juſtice.

If ſomething of this kind be not done, there will be an End of our happy Conſtitution: The next Stroke will decide it. It is Folly now to talk of *Whig* or *Tory*. The Struggle is between the *Court* and *Country*: And if the Country Party fail at this Juncture, all we can ſay is, that States as well as Men have their natural Period, and the Time of the Expiration of the Freedom of *England* is arrived.

Remember therefore, *Gentlemen*, the Difference at preſent is reduc'd to a narrow Compaſs;

The
COURT
are for
Absolute Power and
Enſlaving the
Nation.

The
COUNTRY-Party
are for
The Liberties of Eng-
land.

F I N I S.

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The
COUNTRY-PARTY

and for
The Liberty of Eng-
land.

The
COURT

and for
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Possessing the
Nation.

F I N I S